A MODEST VINDICATION OF Oliver Cromwell From the Unjuſt ACCUSATIONS OF Lieutenant-General *LUDLOW* IN HIS MEMOIRS.

Together with ſome Obſervations on the MEMOIRS in general.

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The PREFACE.

WHere the Policy of the Republicans lay, to expoſe, as they have done, their Embitterment againſt Monarchy at ſuch a time as this, for it is to be ſuppos'd that Ludlow *is now Spokeſman for 'em all, is a thing ſo unaccountable, that none but a* Saffold *can unfold it. Nor is it leſs difficult to underſtand why* Oliver's Manes *ſhould be diſturb'd after a deep Sleep of ſo many Years, for no End that generally men propoſe to themſelves upon ſuch Occaſions. For if 'twere to revive the Embers of their Faction, what ſignifi'd the rekindling a Fire that wanted Fuel to maintain it? If it were to defame the Memory of the Dead, it was a Mean and Unworthy Act. We will therefore judge more favourably of 'em, and believe it was only to get Money. For it was imagin'd the World would believe that ſuch a Man as* Ludlow *would have brought to light ſtrange Myſteries and hidden Secrets, never known before. But 'tis pleaſant to think how they were cheated; the Purchaſers had nothing for their Money, but the Rags and Tatters of Old Stories, worn as Threadbare as a Uſurers Cloak. As for* Ludlow, *he had not a Genius nor an Elocution*

to do Oliver *any great harm, especially considering the Method he took.* Oliver *was a Great Man, let his Detractors say what they please. We read but of Two in the* Roman *Story that rais'd themselves by Intestine Wars,* Sylla *and* Cæsar; *and I look upon* Cromwell *to have bin as great as either. He fought with* Cæsar's *Fortune, vanquish'd* Pompey *in* England; *subdu'd* Petreius *and* Afranius, *at* Dunbar *and* Preston; *the Sons of* Pompey *at* Worcester, *and* Scipio *and* Cato *in* Ireland. Cæsar *once fought for his Life, which* Cromwell *never did; he never was in danger of a Foil: And if he ascended by the Steps that others built for him, 'tis no more then what many others who had they had the same Temptations, would have done. Lastly,* Cæsar *by usurping the* Roman *Commonwealth, was in many things beneficial to the Publick; so is* Cromwell *allow'd to have done as many things for the Good of the* English *Commonwealth. I do not undertake to defend all* Cromwell's *Actions, but only such as* Ludlow's *Book, and Disgusts against him, assume a Liberty to condemn. And then I may justly hope the world will take it for a Piece of Generosity to undeceive Posterity, and prevent their being misguided by the False Relations and Reflections of Passion and Prejudice.*

A Modest

A Modeſt Vindication of *Oliver Cromwell*, from the Unjuſt Aſperſions of Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, in his Memoirs, &c.

CONſidering how Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* has ſtated the Grounds and Reaſons of his Diſguſt againſt *Oliver Cromwell*, the Queſtion, as to *Ludlow*'s particular, is not ſo much whether *Oliver*'s Actions were juſt and laudable, or no; but whether the Lieutenant-General, who as it plainly appears was a Perſon ſway'd by a violent Bigotry to his own Party, were a competent Judge of the Goodneſs or Badneſs of thoſe Actions which he ſo vehemently reproaches in *Cromwell*. As for his own Perſonal Parts, he was never look'd upon to be a Man of ſuch an Extraordinary Headpiece, as to render him eminently diſtinguiſh'd in the Management of Civil Affairs. Neither did his Military Employments ever rear him up thoſe Monuments to his Glory, which Others rais'd themſelves by their Proweſs and Conduct. And then for theſe *Memoirs* of his, They likewiſe were writ in

the Decline of his Years, when Age had riveted into his Mind those Sentiments of past Transactions, which younger Discontents and Animosities had imprinted in his Thoughts, and now had made the Objects of a half craz'd Judgment to make such Reflections on, as are usually the effects of morose and sowre Misunderstandings. For when *Blood* was in his Prime of Action, and sent over to *Geneva* by a Party then meditating Disturbance of the Government, as believing *Ludlow* the most proper Person to Head and Command 'em, that Man of a quick and penetrating Judgment, brought over but a very slender Account of that Great Lieutenant-General of Horse. For *Blood*'s Report, which he often upon other occasions signified to others, was, That he found him very unable for such an Employment; only that he was writing a History, as he call'd it, which as he told the Collonel would be as *True as the Gospel*; and which in all probability were these Two Volumes of *Memoirs* now lately printed. Nor indeed did the Character which then he gave his little Embrio of a History, shew him to be other then what the Collonel spoke him. But perhaps the Lieutenant-General thought it necessary for him to believe himself Inspir'd, when he

he was defending and writing the Hiſtory of the *Sacred* RUMP. However, as certain as theſe Memoirs are, there is one Truth more which muſt be added to the reſt, That his Truths are of very little value; ſuch minute Stories, the greateſt part of 'em that concern himſelf, of his Military Performances in *Wardour*-Caſtle, and other parts of *Wiltſhire*, that all of 'em put together would never have procured him ſo much as a petty Ovation in Old *Rome*. Nevertheleſs he ſeems to have crowded 'em together on purpoſe to make out his extraordinary Devotion to the *Rump*, and his Sincerity to the *Cauſe*; and from thence takes an occaſion to inſinuate his own high Deſerts, and *Oliver*'s Contempt and Slight of thoſe that were moſt zealous for the *Public Good*, by which he means the Republican Intereſt, the peculiar Darling of his moſt Ardent Affections. Tho' all this while I can diſcover nothing ſo much through the whole Contexture of theſe Memoirs, as a continu'd Proſecution of Envy and Revenge, ripen'd into Invective by the Sullenneſs of his Age: Yet ſuch a ſort of Envy, that I could not have expected to have found in a Man of Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*'s Principles; that repines more at the Merits of *Cromwell*'s Actions, then the Glory of

his Trophies: As if the High Commands and Power which he was deem'd worthy of, and for which he was cull'd out by thoſe that knew not where elſe to ſupply their preſſing Wants of ſuch another, had been the Acquiſitions of his Ambitious Induſtry and over-reaching Politics, rather then conferr'd upon him for the ſenſible Benefits of his continu'd Victories and Succeſſes. This ſeems to imply, that L. G. *Ludlow* was willing enough that the Republican Party ſhould have enjoy'd the Fruits of *Cromwell*'s unweari'd Labours, no leſs then Grandeur equal to Royal, and Supreme Authority; but in the height of his Gratitude, the L. G. of the Horſe would have had 'em kick'd down the Inſtrument of their Glorious Fruitions, when they were out of Danger. He complains that his petty Skirmiſhes at *Wardour* Caſtle, and in other parts of *Wiltſhire*, where Fortune was as frequently unkind as gracious to him, and ſuffer'd him to be taken Priſ'ner, were never ſufficiently recompenc'd: But he mentions with Regret a Donative of Four or Five Thouſand a Year given to *Cromwell*, for the Conqueſt of Three Kingdoms, and ſaving the *Common Cauſe* from utter Downfal. Such a ſort of Envy as this it was, that plagu'd the Fam'd *Polonian Tarnovius*, of whom *Thuanus* reports,

ports, that after he had ſubdu'd the *Moldavians* and *Ruſſians*, and freed his Country from the frequent Incurſions of the *Tartars*, it was incredible how he was envy'd at home by thoſe that ſuſpected the very Name of General, which he had merited by his great Atchievements. But there are a great many people of the Lieutenant-General's Humour, whatever is above their own Merit diſpleaſes 'em; tho there are not many ſo inadvertent to ſhew it with ſo much formal Sincerity as the Lieutenant-General has done. When ſuch people behold an extraordinary Merit in any perſon, they look upon it as an Object that reproaches their Imperfections, an Object that affronts 'em, and renders 'em ſo much the more Contemptible. Theſe are the true reaſons that kindl'd the Lieutenant-General's Anger againſt *Cromwell*; ſo that after long Meditation, he at length found out the uſual way of laying hold upon the common pretences of Juſtice and Equity to condemn him according to the motions of his own paſſion.

His deſire of Revenge is no leſs apparent, and very unbecoming a Soldier; whoſe part it is to Combat his Enemy living, and if he can, to Kill him fairly in the Field; but thus to aſſail and quarrel with a dead Man in his Tomb,

Tomb, to Stigmatize the Fame of one Deceas'd, for only having been more fortunate in the ſame Cauſe, which his own Sword had weakly Defended, is an Act of Malice ſo much the more unworthy and misbecoming a Man of Honour, by how much it is altogether inſignificant, and gratifies only an inveterate and ignorant Paſſion, condemn'd by all magnanimous and heroic ſpirits. For I can never believe that ever they who took up *Cromwell's* Carkaſs, to hang it ignominiouſly upon the Gallows, and poorly inſulted over the Bones of a Man who had ſo often Vanquiſh'd 'em in Battel, gain'd any great Honour by ſuch a Puſillanimous Act; much leſs did it become our L. G. to rake into the Aſhes of One who had never been his Enemy, but by his own Confeſſion had given him ſuch a Character in Publick, as rais'd him to his higheſt Preferment; however, the Lieutenant General was pleaſed to put an ill interpretation upon it. But Men of his Maligning Temper have many times this Misfortune attending 'em, That while they are labouring and delving to the Prejudice of others, they do themſelves the greateſt harm. For aſſuredly when the world ſhall obſerve him ſo frequently interlacing his own Murmurs and Diſcontents, with his diſguſts

diſguſts againſt *Cromwell*, for only diſappointing the Party which himſelf had ſo nearly eſpous'd, never blaming him for Fighting againſt his Sovereign, nor bringing him to the Block; it muſt be thought that his *Memoirs* muſt ſmell very ſtrong of the Garlick of Self-Intereſt, which will very much enervate the credit of his Recriminations upon *Cromwell*, eſpecially in the Sentiments of remoter Poſterity, that will judge of thoſe Tranſactions with a more ſincere Impartiality. And here the Queſtion may not be unſeaſonably put, What the Aim and Deſign of Publiſhing theſe *Memoirs* could be? For if it were to gratify the expiring Remains of that ſame Party, againſt whom *Cromwell* Fought with ſuch Succeſs; What favour can our *Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in* Ireland, gain among them, by telling 'em a long Story of *Cromwell's* Diſmounting the *Rumponians* from the Saddles of their Authority? Who had they been ſent to the Crows ſome years before, that Party would not have repin'd at it: rather he merits their ſevereſt Indignation, for juſtifying and approving *Cromwell* all the while he contributed to the Downfal of their Martyr, and Reproaching him for ſo much as offering to Treat with him. On the other ſide, if theſe Relations were ſet forth

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to endear the Memory of the Lieutenant-General to his own Party, What kindneſs can it be to them, to be reviv'd for a Company of Fools that could not keep the Government, when they had it in their own hands, but ſuffer'd themſelves to be baffl'd, outwitted, and turn'd out of doors by their own Underling and Servant, as they call'd him? But what car'd the *Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces in* Ireland? for ſo he could but inculcate into the world a bad Opinion of *Cromwell* and his Actions, though it were to the Diſgrace of his own Party, he values not to what Cenſures and Sarcaſms he expoſes the fondlings of his Devotion: Which being the main drift of his *Memoirs*, they cannot chuſe but be infinitely beholding to him for it. He pretends to have had a proſpect of *Cromwell*'s Ambitious Deſigns, as he calls 'em, long before they were brought to perfection: To much purpoſe; for had he been a true Emulator of *Cromwell*'s Gallantry, he might, perhaps, have made a much better uſe of his *Lieutenant-General-ſhip*, and his *Command* of the *Forces* in *Ireland* in the Reſcue of his diſtreſſed Minions, then to ſit an Exil'd Scribler of Trivial *Memoirs*, that dropp'd from his Pen, more to the ſhame of his own Darlings, then the Defamation of

Cromwell

Cromwell in those Matters where the Stress of his Reproaches lye. And thus much for the *Memoirs* in general.

To come to Particulars: There is little worth Observation in the First Volume, which is no more then a succinct Relation of the Military Transactions of those Times, both in *England* and *Ireland*, for the greatest part, from the Beginning of the Combustions, to the first *Dutch* War: Wherein however, he is very particular and tedious in the Account which he gives of his own Exploits when he was Governor of *Wardour* Castle, and High Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, larded with such Impertinent Circumstances, of *a dozen Pasties of his Father's Ven'son*, which the Enemy had just bak'd, and would have carri'd away, had he not come in timely and manfully *with Forty Horse* to their Rescue. He holds out *Wardour* Castle in his Relation, almost as long as the Enemy lay before it, enlarging his Recital on purpose to magnify his Courage, his Resolution, and Zeal to the Cause, ev'n to Vanity. The rest of the Pages, after he had deliver'd the Castle, and was become a Pris'ner of War, from 92 to 112, are all no less a Panegyric upon himself. Not consid'ring, that the Praises which come from Others, are pleasing to P. 62.

the Ear; but the Elogies which a man aſcribes to himſelf, are ever moſt troubleſome. He omits not to tell ye how he took up one of
P. 116. his Troopers behind him, leaſt he ſhould be taken by the purſuing Enemy; which was doubtleſs to notify his Charity and Compaſſion. He gives yee a juſt and exact Account of the Death of his Couſin *Gabriel Ludlow*, and of the Misfortunes that befel his two Ser-
P. 129. vants, *Stent*, and *Henry Coles*; with a world of
P. 141. other minute Stories of the ſame nature; a plain demonſtration of the Narrowneſs of his Soul, and the Lowneſs of his Genius.

But the main thing remarkable in his Firſt Volume is, That becauſe he would make the World believe him to be a Man of Parts, and one that was able to balance a Party, he takes great Care to diſplay his Intimacy with Lieute-
P. 185. nant General *Cromwell*. "One Morning, ſays "he, as I was walking with L. G. *Cromwell* in "Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Garden, he inveigh'd bit-"terly againſt thoſe that accompani'd the Earl "of *Eſſex* to his Grave; ſaying in a familiar "way to me, If thy Father were alive, he "would let ſome of 'em hear what they de-"ſerve; adding farther, That it was a miſe-"rable thing to ſerve a Parlament; to whom "let a Man be never ſo faithful, if one Prag-

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"matical Fellow riſe up and aſperſe him, he "ſhall never wipe it off. Whereas, ſaid he, "when one ſerves under a General, he may "do as much Service, and yet be free from all "Blame and Envy.

From theſe words *Ludlow* it ſeems perſuaded himſelf that *Cromwell* had at that time conceiv'd the Deſign of deſtroying the Civil Authority, and ſetting up himſelf; and that he took that Opportunity to feel his Pulſe, whether he were a fit Inſtrument to be employ'd to thoſe Ends.

We ſhall not diſpute the Truth of this Diſcourſe, nor will we deny but that the Author of the Memoirs Conjecture might be as true, That *Cromwell* might ſpeak the Words, to take the Dimenſions of *Ludlow's* Capacity. But ſeeing there is not the leaſt Ground for the drawing of any ſuch Inference as he makes from the Words, we muſt rather believe that the *Lieutenant-General in Ireland's* Surmiſe was of a later date; like thoſe who pretend to have propheſi'd of things after they are come to paſs. Nevertheleſs, that *Cromwell* upon his Canting Anſwer had enough of him, we look upon as a thing beyond all Controverſy: For *Cromwell* was a Perſon who never ſounded the Breaſt of any Man, but he ſoon reach'd the Depth of it.

However, ſoon after this, the Author of
P. 189. the Memoirs tells yee of another great piece of Familiarity between him and *Cromwell*. For he ſays, That the Parliament being diſpleas'd with the Carriage of the Army, ſome menacing Expreſſions fell from ſome of the Members; upon which *Cromwell* took an Occaſion to whiſper the following Words in his Ear, *Theſe Men will never leave, till the Army pull 'em out by the Ears.* But here I am afraid the Lieutenant-General in *Ireland* a little forgets himſelf: For after he had told us but two Pages before, That *Cromwell* not finding him fit for his purpoſe, *He never heard from him any more upon that Point*; meaning the Point of *Deſtroying the Civil Authority, and ſetting up for himſelf*: Here he introduces *Cromwell* altering his Mind, and whiſpering to him a Secret of far greater Importance; and a much clearer Demonſtration of the Evil Deſign which the Lieutenant General ſuſpected him to be meditating againſt the Civil Authority, then any he could gather from his former Diſcourſe. I muſt confeſs this does not hang well together. *Cromwell* did but feel the Lieutenant General's Pulſe before; now he begins to be downright, and to open his Heart: And yet *Cromwell* was never taken to be a Blab of his Tongue. Neither

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is it probable that *Cromwell*, a Perſon ſo reſerv'd as he was, would have utter'd ſuch a dangerous Expreſſion in the midſt of his Enemies, to a Man whoſe Imbecilities and Bigottry he had ſo lately try'd. Why did not the Lieutenant-General in *Ireland* immediately charge him with it? It would have been the beſt piece of Service he could have done for thoſe, who, as he ſays himſelf, were at the ſame time for ſecuring *Cromwell*; and who from hence might have taken a juſt Occaſion to proſecute their Deſign, which would have been the beſt day's Work that e're they did in their Lives, for their own Security. But *Ludlow* believing that this would be objected againſt him, tells yee, That he would *have reſented it, if the ſtate of his Parties Affairs would have permitted.* A very lame excuſe, and which lays the total Overthrow of his Party at his own door: For if this be true, That *Cromwell* ſhould be ſo inadvertent to whiſper thoſe words into his Ear, 'tis plain that Fortune put an Opportunity into *Ludlow*'s hands to have preſerv'd his Party; but he was ſo ſimple that he knew not how to make uſe of it. And now I appeal to all unbias'd Men, whether this manifeſt ſlip be not ſufficient to invalidate the whole Teſtimony of the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General, and to render

P. 190.

P. 189.

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ſuſpected what he ſhall henceforward advance in the Derogation of *Cromwell*'s Proceedings, as being only the Murmurs of Self-intereſt.

But this great Familiarity between the *Engliſh* and the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-Generals, broke off on the part of the Author of the *Memoirs*, upon *Cromwell*'s and the Armies Treating with
P. 223. the King; which *Ludlow* calls, *A driving on a Bargain for the People's Liberty* by *Oliver* alone: For it was the Opinion of the *Author of the Memoirs*, that which way ſoever the King had bin Reſtor'd, *he might eaſily have gratified his Friends, and reveng'd himſelf upon his Enemies.* So that the Lieutenant-General in *Ireland* was clearly for a Republick, and he knew that ſo long as there was a King, there could be no Republick in *Iſrael*. But in regard that *Cromwell*'s Treating with the King was imputed to him as a Crime by none but *Ludlow*'s Republicans, while the *Presbyterians* and *Scots* did the ſame; and if *Cromwell* made any Bargains with his Royal Priſ'ner for his own Advantage, it was no more then what General *Monk* did afterwards, we ſhall paſs from our Author's *Memento*'s upon thoſe Tranſactions, which bring a far more general Odium upon himſelf then upon *Cromwell*, while he was one of thoſe, who under the Name of Common-

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wealths-men, declar'd, *That Monarchy was neither good in it ſelf, nor for the Nation; that the King had broken his Oath, and thereby diſſolv'd our Allegiance; and that the King having appeal'd to the Sword for the deciſion of the Diſpute, and thereby caus'd the Effuſion of a deludge of the People's Blood, it ſeem'd to be a Duty incumbent upon the Repreſentatives of the People to call him to an account, and then proceed to the Eſtabliſhment of an Equal Commonwealth founded upon the Conſent of the People, as being moſt juſt, and in all reſpects moſt conducing to the Happineſs and Proſperity thereof.* P. 238, 239. Now that *Ludlow* was one of this Cabal is plain, by the ſame token, as he ſays himſelf, that *Cromwell*, after he had learnt *what he could of the Principles and Inclinations of thoſe preſent at the Conference, he took up a Cuſhion, and flung it at the* Iriſh *Lieutenant-General's Head, and then ran down Stairs*: But the undaunted Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland, ſoon overtook him with another, which made him haſten down faſter then he deſir'd.* P. 240. And here certainly after ſuch a Victory as this, the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General ought to have clos'd his Memoirs, and ſet up his *Hercules's* Pillars; for after ſuch an Atchievement as this, no leſs then the putting to Flight one of the moſt Victorious Captains of his Age, and till then Invincible, What could

could he expect to do greater, or that could more Eternize his Fame? At leaſt, it is to be wonderd, that his Party did not take from hence a proſperous Omen to ſet ſo valiant a Champion up in Oppoſition to *Cromwell*; ſince they had great reaſon to hope, that he who had put the famous *Cromwell* to Flight with a Cuſhion, would eaſily ſubdue him with his Arms in his Hand.

In the mean time this Paſſage is of that nature, as evidently demonſtrates *Ludlow* to be as deep in the Mud, as *Cromwell* was in the Mire; nay, he may rather be thought the worſe of the Two: For *Ludlow* was one of thoſe that were already Premeditating to call the King to an Account, and then to alter the Monarchical Government of the Kingdom, and ſet up a Commonwealth. Theſe diſdain'd all manner of Treaty with the King; whereas *Cromwell* deſign'd his Reſtoration, and may be ſaid to have acted not ſo much by premeditated Deſign, as by the impulſe of a driving Fate, that puſh'd him on by degrees, by the encouragement of concurring Events, and conduct of opportune Proſperities. And therefore it is much to be admir'd that the Publiſhers, or at leaſt the Over-viewers of theſe Memoirs did not ſtrike out this and many other

other Paſſages of the ſame nature, before they let 'em ſee the Light. Certainly they did not conſult the Honour of the Author, to let ſuch an Antimonarchiſt as *Ludlow* to appear in *England* with his *Helvetian* Commonwealth Meditations, barefac'd and in all his Republican Colours, at a Time when Monarchy had recover'd her Ancient Splendor in the Kingdom. His beſt Friends moſt certainly could never believe that either his Perſon or his Works could be acceptable or welcome here, or procure him any Eſteem in a Nation wholly Monarchical. And all this to blacken the Actions of *Cromwell*, who was ſo far from being a Hater of Monarchy, that he at length ſet up for a Monarch himſelf; chiefly too by thoſe Actions which to this day are no way diſpleaſing to the greateſt Aſſerters of Monarchy. So that if theſe Memoirs were publiſh'd to prejudice *Cromwell's* Memory, they will miſs very much of their Aim; ſeeing that the Reputation of a Bad Man can never receive much damage from the Accuſations of one that is worſe then himſelf. And it is to be fear'd that all the Recompence that *Ludlow* will get by theſe Memoirs of his, will be only the Sarcaſm of *Juvenal*,

Clodius accuſat Mœchos, Catilina Cethegum.

But whatever Jealousies and Suspicions the Republicans had of *Cromwell*, when they thought themselves secure, yet whenever any imminent Danger threaten'd 'em, they flew to him for Refuge. And therefore by the Confession of the Author of the Memoirs himself, when *Hamilton* was upon his March into *England* with Twenty thousand *Scots*, and *Langdale* ready to join him with Five thousand
P. 258. *English* more, *several who had oppos'd his Proceedings* as *Arbitrary and Selfish*, then thought themselves oblig'd *to strengthen his hands*, in a Work which they call'd *necessary*, and assur'd him of *all the Assistance* they could give him.

And now you have the Lieutenant-General of the Horse in *Ireland* making another Confession, That it was not *Cromwell* who broke off the Treaty with the King in the *Isle of Wight*, but that he himself was one of the main Instruments that did the King that kind Office.
P. 262, 263. For he tells yee, that the Treaty with the King being press'd on with more Heat then ever, which he calls *a visible Design to render all their Victories useless*, he went to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and told him, *That a Design was driving on to betray the Cause, in which so much of the Peoples Blood had been shed; and that the King being under Restraint, would not think himself oblig'd to*

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any thing he ſhould promiſe under ſuch Circumſtances; aſſuring him at the ſame time, *That they who were moſt eager for the Treaty, never intended that the King ſhould be bound to the performance of his word, only they deſign'd to uſe his Authority to deſtroy the Army, which ought to be his care to prevent.* Nay, that he might aſcribe all the Honour of this Enterprize to himſelf and his Party, to the Excluſion of *Cromwell*, the Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Ireland* tells yee a Story ſome Pages before, how that *Cromwell*, being inclin'd to cloſe with the Commonwealth Party, invited ſome of 'em to confer with him at his Chamber: with which when he acquainted our Author of the *Memoirs*, he affronted him with a very rude and uncivil Anſwer, telling him, *That when he had an occaſion to make uſe of* the *Republicans*, he knew how to *cajole 'em and give 'em good words*; which put *Cromwell* into ſuch a Paſſion, that he gave him as rude a Reply, *That the* Republicans *were a proud ſort of People, and only conſiderable in their own conceits.* And thus the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General would ſeem to inſinuate that *Cromwell* could be none of their Cabal, but only that they made uſe of him as their Plantain Tree, whoſe ſpreading ſhade might ſecure 'em from the Swelter of Trouble and Danger. Tho' p. 241.

'tis not rational to believe, but that they were influenc'd altogether by his Counsels and Directions; however, *Cromwell* knowing their Humour, let 'em alone, and play'd with 'em as an Angler does with a Pike, when he has the unruly Fish fast in his Hook. More then that, as our Author says, he was so complaisant, as to declare at his arrival from *Scot-*
P. 272. *land*, that he was not acquainted with the Design; only since it was done he was glad of it: And thus far he was still their Friend, in conceding 'em the Honour which they so ardently desir'd.

It farther appears that *Ludlow* would seem to make himself more then ordinarily busy in this Transaction. For finding *Fairfax* Irresolute, he presently repair'd to *Ireton* to Negotiate their Grand Affair; and still he would make the World believe that he was the main Instrument of the Revolution. But what was the effect of all his Labour? Why, the Army *having wonderfully dispers'd their Enemies on every side*, began to consider how to secure themselves and the Common Cause against those Counsels that were carry'd on in Opposition to 'em, and to that end drew up a Declaration at St. *Albans*, &c. and so the *Irish* Lieutenant-General was turn'd out of his Employment.

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However, tho' *Cromwell* and the Army had lay'd him aſide, yet ſtill in exaltation of himſelf, he would make yee believe, they were afraid of diſpleaſing him. And therefore he now pretends to be a Confident of *Ireton's*, who upon the Armies drawing towards *London*, in order to purge the Parliament, wrote to the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General, *that now he hop'd they ſhould pleaſe him*; which as he acknowledges, they did, not from any *particular Advantages that he expected* from it, if you will believe him, *but that the People of* England *might be preſerv'd in their juſt Rights from the Oppreſſion of Violent men; being fully perſuaded that an Accommodation with the King was unſafe to the People of* England, *and unjuſt and wicked in the nature of it.* And thus you ſee, the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General writes with a two-edg'd Pen, with one ſide to gaſh the Reputation of *Cromwell*; and with the other to Sliver the Devotion of thoſe who venerate *Charles* the I. for a *Martyr*.

And now we are come to the laſt Act conſiderable in the firſt Volume; wherein our Author is very Induſtrious by extenuating, to advance his own worth, to ſhew the continuance of his Familiarity with *Cromwell*, and diſplay his own Ingratitude to his Friend. And here it is

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observable in the first place, that he still made *Cromwell* the Aggressor in his Discourses with him: An evident Sign that he affected to have it believ'd by all the World that *Cromwell* had a high Opinion of him for his Abilities, and the Infallible Counsels of his Oracular Foresight: Whereas all Judicious Men that read his Memoirs will find, that *Oliver*, who was a Man of a deep reach indeed, had quite another Aim. For *Cromwell* well knowing that his Bigotry to the Party had gain'd him a Reputation for his fidelity to the Cause among 'em, and that he was for that reason entrusted with all their Secrets, addrest himself to the *Irish* Lieutenant General as one of the weakest among 'em; that by sifting his Thoughts, he might understand the Judgment of the rest of the Party, or at least of the more Cunning sort.

He tells us, That *Cromwell*, after the Parliament had voted him General, as our Author was sitting by him in the House, expres's'd an Extraordinary Sorrow to observe *an Alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, by which he apprehended* that his dear Friend *Ludlow had entertain'd some Suspicions of him.* Which Address of *Cromwell*'s might be very probable; not that it is to be thought that *Cromwell* car'd a rush

P. 316.

for

for his *Looks* or his *Carriage*; but it was a Complement proper to draw an Easy man into the Nooze that better Cunning was preparing for him. After this, nothing would serve *Cromwell* but a Meeting with this same *Seraskier* of the *Irish Spahi's*, to remove the Grounds of their Mistakes and Misapprehensions, and accordingly they met in the Queen's Guard-Chamber; where, as he says, *Cromwell endeavour'd to persuade him of the Necessity incumbent upon him of doing several things that appear'd* extraordinary in the Judgment of some Men, who in opposition to him, would bring Ruin upon themselves, as well as Him and the Public Cause. P. 317. Presently *Ludlow* confters these *Extraordinary Things*, to be *Cromwell's* Treating with the King, and shooting to death one of the Soldiers, and imprisoning the rest, that mutiny'd at *Ware* upon the account of that Treaty, and testifies his dislike of those Actions, as being done *for sinister ends*. However, since the Army and He had manifested themselves *convinc'd of their Errors* by their *Adherence to the Commonwealth*, he was willing to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which he expected from him, so soon as he should return with Victory home again (for *Cromwell* was then going to invade *Scotland*) but then

P. 318. then he hop'd, that the General's *Interests and Principles would lead him to do what was most agreeable to the Constitution of a Commonwealth, and the good of Mankind.* Nor did he forget his own particular Grievance by the bye, which was the too partial Hand of the Parlament and General in their Distributions of Gratuities; considering how he had held out *Wardour* Castle, and expos'd his Life in *Wiltshire*, and never got any thing for his pains. Now if you will believe our Author, nor is it material to contradict him, can any man of sense persuade himself that *Cromwell*, at that time a General, and a Man oppress'd with Ponderous Affairs, would have spent his time in soothing up the Humour of an Empty Bigot, and wasted above an hour in preaching upon the 110th *Psalm*,
P. 319. to tickle his Fancy, had it not been for some other Reason then our Author first pretended. 'Tis a vanity to think it. But *Cromwell* was then ready to march for *Scotland*, and wanted a Journyman for his Son *Ireton* in *Ireland.* Some he thought too nimble and cunning, some too faithless to be trusted; but here was one for his turn, stout of his Hands, a weak Headpiece, and one that would be easily rul'd, if well manag'd; but for want of Understanding, displeas'd with his Extraordinary Proceedings,

ceedings, and for that reaſon to be fondl'd into a good Humour again. And therefore ſo ſoon as the General ſaw him mollify'd, he not only propounded the Preferment he deſign'd him for the forementiond Reaſons, to himſelf, but propos'd him to the Council of State, and they to the Parlament, and ſo got him choſen in a manner in deſpight of his teeth; when others far more deſerving and experienc'd in the *Iriſh* Affairs, ſuch as the Lord *Broghil*, and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, ſollicited for the ſame Employment at the ſame time. And indeed he would make yee believe it was really ſo: For as he ſays, he not only pleaded the common Excuſes, and Goodly good Morrows of Inability and Unfitneſs, but the apparent Emergencies of his Eſtate and Family. But *Cromwell*, who knew he had committed a proper Tool into the hands of a good Workman, would admit of no denial.

However, he had no ſooner receiv'd his Commiſſion, but his Advancement puffing him up with a high Opinion of himſelf, he ſo order'd it, that his Friends gave out, That *the Opportunity was taken by the General to remove him out of the way, leaſt he ſhould prove an Obſtruction to his Deſigns*; yet himſelf ſtill ſtanding upon his guard of Modeſty, and telling the P. 303.

world, *that he could not think himself so considerable.* Nor could his Friends believe it, whate're they Publish'd, who knew so well it was not *Cromwell's* way to remove, but quite to lay aside those Persons whom he acccounted Dangerous, or lookt upon as Obstructors of his Designs. Besides, that such affected self-debasements seldom find belief with Men of Sense, as being incompatible with Truth, in Men that so often complain of unrewarded Merit, as our Author does.

Seeing then, that this great Preferment was not forc'd upon him, least he should obstruct the General's designs, as our Author himself pretends, but as he rather conceives, for his Merit; it follows that the world must conclude him guilty of a great share of Ingratitude, so to bespatter, as he does, with the Epithites of Ambitious, Wicked and Impious (for in such Heats and Passions we shall find the Lieutenant General of the Forces in *Ireland* in the next Volume) his only Benefactor, and the very Person that exalted him to the highest Dignity that ever he attain'd to in this world, and Higher then e're he could have expected from his own Deserts. So that whatever hard Opinion the worst of *Cromwell's* Enemies may have of him himself, they can never

never be ſo ungenerous to have any kind thoughts of the Author of theſe Memoirs, who has ſo unbeſeemingly trampl'd upon the duſt of his Benefactor.

It may be Objected, That *Ludlow* had no Enmity or Hatred againſt the Perſon of *Cromwell* in his private Capacity; but that he condemns his Publick Actions only, his Violation of the Laws, his Subverſion of the Government, his Arbitrary Proceedings, his Treachery to thoſe from whom he deriv'd all his Authority, and his Aſſuming to himſelf the Supream Power out of the hands of thoſe who were inveſted with it; and no man is bound to retaliate the Benefits of an Enemy of his Country.

But 'tis readily anſwer'd, that this Objection had bin of ſome force indeed, if *Ludlow* had bin in the undoubted Right, and *Cromwell* in the unqueſtionable Wrong. But general Opinion concludes, that Both were in the Wrong; and then *Ludlow*'s Accuſations and Impeachments of *Cromwell*'s Actions are Unjuſt and Injurious, as being grounded upon no true Foundation. For the Subjects of praiſe or diſpraiſe muſt be ſuch as are univerſally tak'n *pro Conceſſo*; otherwiſe he that condemns another for that which is not certainly Evil in it ſelf, or by the Fundamental

Laws of the Land, condemns him only upon the Inſtigations of Paſſion and Prejudice, and makes that a Crime, which others at the ſame time may look upon as a Virtue. But granting that *Ludlow* did firmly believe himſelf and his Party to be in the Right, yet he could not be ſo infatuated to his Bigotry, as not to ſee that Two of the Principal and moſt numerous Judgments of the Nation were againſt him; and then it was a high piece of Ingratitude to lay general imputations of Impious, Wicked, and Arbitrary, upon his Friend that had bin ſo kind to him, for acts committed againſt his particular Party, where the Controverſy was ſo dubious, and the Balance ſo unequal againſt him.

Upon theſe wrong foundations *Ludlow* proceeds, and taxes *Cromwell*, for that after the Battel of *Worceſter he took upon him a more ſtately*
P. 365. *Behaviour, choſe new Friends*, and after the Fight, *frown'd upon and diſmiſs'd thoſe who had aſſiſted him againſt the common Enemy, though he knew they had deſerv'd as much Honour as himſelf* and the ſtanding Army. And wherefore was it? Becauſe he knew that a *Uſeful and Experienc'd Militia was more likely to obſtruct, then ſecond him in his Ambitious Deſigns*. But theſe are the Murmurs of Envy and Prejudice. For what would our Com-

Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland* have had the *Engliſh* General have done with the Militia when there was no farther uſe of 'em? He that pretended to have bin always ſo tender of burthening the Nation. He would have had the General, inſtead of Frowning upon 'em (for which we have only his bare word) have Kiſs'd 'em Man by Man, and Rewarded 'em every one with ſo many Points and a White Loaf, like the Proceſſion Boys at *Whitſontide*. But he ſhould have blam'd the Parlament for that Omiſſion; that was none of the General's buſineſs. He would have had the Parlament have kept 'em up to obſtruct the General's *Ambitious Deſigns*. But to their Misfortune they were not ſo quick-ſighted as our foreſeeing Author of the Memoirs, and therefore they ſent 'em home agen to their Wives and Children; whither, no queſtion, they were as willing to return, as the General was to ſend 'em away. However, afterwards the ſame Militia Petition'd for bringing Delinquents to ſpeedy Puniſhment; and then, I hope, they pleas'd our Commander in Chief of the *Iriſh* Forces, as well as if they had kept the Field. Now for the Ambitious Deſigns of *Cromwell*, with which our Author often makes a great noiſe, I would fain

fain know, What was the difference between the *Ambitious Deſign* of ſetting up a Tyrannical Republick, and the Ambitious Deſign of advancing a ſingle Uſurpation? The latter I'm ſure was more conſonant to the Ancient Government of the Nation; for that reſtor'd the Monarchy, though not the Perſon; but the other would have pull'd down the very Fabrick and Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. And now let him cry out as much as he pleaſes againſt our Ambitious Deſign, we will not exchange with him; becauſe our Ambitious Deſign was better then his. Nay, they were ſo fond of this Ambitious Deſign of theirs, that they would have Brib'd the General to have let 'em alone to ſit ſtill, till they had rear'd their Triumphant Arch of a Commonwealth. But they were ſuch narrow-Soul'd People, that their ſtingy Avarice would not ſuffer 'em to offer any more then
P. 371. Four thouſand Pound a Year for the Diſpoſal of the whole Revenue of the Nation, beſides what they might have added to it. Now I appeal to any Conſcionable Man, whether that were enough to oblige a General, who had the Power of the Sword in his hands, to the *Performance of his Duty.*

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However, while he is thus degrading the Reputation of the Father in Law, no ſooner is the Son in Law dead, but he extols him to the Skies, and raiſes him a Monument as high as his ſlender Elocution will permit him. A clear Argument that Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* was no other then a thick-skull'd Officer of Horſe, who might have enter'd into Battel invulnerable in the Forhead; ſo to extol as he does the Son in Law, who was the Framer and Contriver of many of thoſe very Deſigns, which he calls Impious and Wicked, at the ſame time that he expends all the ſmall Shot of his Indignation againſt the Father in Law, for putting 'em prudently and reſolutely in execution. He applauds his departed Friend for his *Affection to his Country, his Abilities of Mind,* P. 384. *his Impartial Juſtice, and his Diligence in the Public Service*; and at length embalms his Memory in a Venomous *Effluvium* againſt the generality of Kings both paſt and to come; affirming that his *Virtues* were a far greater Honour to it, then *a Dormitory among the Aſhes of Kings, who as they govern'd Others by their Paſſions, ſo were they Themſelves no leſs govern'd by 'em.*

And now you ſhall find the ſincere and upright Compiler of theſe Memoirs in a ſecond palpable Contradiction of himſelf. For he tells

tells yee before, That when his Friends would have perſwaded him that *Cromwell* took the Opportunity of preferring him; to remove him out of the way, leaſt he ſhould prove an Obſtruction to his Deſigns; he made 'em an-
P. 303. ſwer, *That he could not think himſelf ſo conſiderable, and therefore could not concur with 'em in their Opinion.* But now upon *Lambert's* Refuſal to go over without any Character into *Ireland*, leſs then that of *Deputy*, a certain Speech of Mr. *Weaver*, tending to continue him in his
P. 414. Military Command, *increas'd* Oliver's *Jealouſy of him, that he might prove an Obſtruction to the Deſign he was carrying on, to advance himſelf by the Ruin of the Commonwealth*; and therefore reſolv'd to place Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* at the Head of Affairs in *Ireland*. Before, he deni'd that his Preferment by *Oliver* proceeded from any Suſpicion that the General had of being diſturb'd by him in his Deſigns, becauſe he knew himſelf uncapable to do him any harm. Here he affirms that the Increaſe of that Suſpicion, meaning doubtleſs that Suſpicion which he had before deni'd, was the reaſon that *Oliver* reſolv'd to place another above him. Now all men know, what never was, can never increaſe. To ſalve then this ſame ſlip of the Lieutenant-General's Memory, we

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muſt believe that either *Cromwell* was not ſo cunning as the World took him to be, or elſe that the Lieutenant-General diſſembl'd with his beſt Friends. But 'tis to be hop'd that the Lieutenant-General may be pardon'd for forgetting himſelf a little, provided he might gain the Honour of being thought an Antagoniſt capable to prevent the Ambitious Deſigns of a Man ſo formidable as *Cromwell*. 'Tis the nature of ſuch Aſpirers as the Lieutenant-General, to be like Bladders, ſometimes ſhrivel'd up with Self denial, and by and by ſwoln up with the Wind of Vanity and Self-Conceit; or otherwiſe, like Proſpective Glaſſes, that leſſen at one end, and magnify at the other.

But it ſeems *Cromwell* was too nimble for him, and ſoon rid himſelf from all his Fears of the Lieutenant-General's obſtructing his Deſigns; which the diſappointed Lieutenant-General loudly bemoans. For upon *Fleetwood's* Arrival in *Ireland*, he fetches a deep Sigh, and with the Cobler cries out, *Perdidi Operam*, finding all his *Cares and Fatigues recompenc'd only with Envy and Hatred.* Which was, no doubt, the reaſon that afterwards he reſolv'd to repay *Cromwell* in his own Coin. Nevertheleſs, as much rejected as he was, he will not forego the high Opinion he always had of himſelf; P. 425.

and becauſe he had no other Witneſſes, cunningly brings in *Envy* and *Hatred* to be the Teſtimonies of his Great Performances. For *Envy* and *Hatred* among Great Perſonages, never attend little matters. I muſt confeſs he tells yee of many things he did in *Ireland*; among the reſt, how he ſmoak'd a Party of
P. 423. the *Iriſh* to death in a hollow Rock; and how out of his great Ingenuity, perceiving the *Smoke that went into the Cavity of the Rock, came out again at other Crevices*, he, as Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Ireland*, caus'd thoſe places to be cloſely ſtopp'd, and another Smother to be made; and then conceiving the Work to be done, by the ſame Authority as before, he ſent in his Men armed with Back, Breaſt, and Head-piece, to fetch out the dead people. But this was no ſuch mighty Act to deſerve the Hatred and Envy of any Man. And therefore ſeeing the Lieutenant-General gives us no account who they were that *envy'd and hated* him; and for that we ſee no ground to believe it; more eſpecially, if he means *Cromwell* to be one; for Men of *Cromwell*'s Temper never hate or envy thoſe that they know can do 'em no harm, unleſs the Lieutenant-General miſtook Contempt and Slight for Envy and Hatred; we can only believe it to be a Stra-

a Stratagem of the Lieutenant-General's himſelf, to inſinuate the Grandeur of his own Atchievements and Merits, which others either could not, or were unwilling to do to that degree as he was deſirous they ſhould. More then this, it is obſervable that notwithſtanding all the Great Actions in *Ireland*, which the Lieutenant-General aſſumes to himſelf to have ſo glorioufly perform'd; *Whitlock*, ſo particular in relating the Actions of other Great Officers in *Ireland*, as *Broghil*, *Waller*, *Jones*, *Axtel*, *Zanchy*, &c. makes no mention at all of the Lieutenant General, till after *Ireton's* death; and then he ſays no more of him, but that he was appointed to command the Forces in *Ireland*, till the farther Pleaſure of the Parlament was known.

This is the Subſtance of the Firſt Volume of *Ludlow's* Memoirs, ſo far as they relate to his Inconſiderable Quarrels and Diſſatisfactions with *Cromwell's* Proceedings; which may be reduc'd to three particular Heads: His private Treaty with the King; his ſuſpected Deſigns to ruin the Republican Party, and ſet up for himſelf; and his neglect of recompencing the Lieutenant-General according to his Merits. Which are Accuſations ſo far from do-

ing any Injury to *Oliver's* Memory, that they rather ingratiate him with the moſt conſiderable part of the Nation. So that, as I have already once or twice repeated, I admire to what purpoſe theſe Memoirs were printed in *England*, unleſs it were to expoſe the Author to be a Perſon that hated Monarchy, and conſequently the preſent Government, with ſuch an Inveterate Abomination, that it may be queſtion'd whether he had any Kindneſs for *Adam*, becauſe he reign'd ſingle in Paradiſe. They might indeed have ſerv'd to ſhew his Gratitude to the Canton of *Bern*, to which purpoſe they were written: But to print 'em ſo unſeaſonably here in *England*, with a Noiſy Title, and himſelf ſtanding in his Ornamental Iron at the Entrance into the Booth of his Memoirs, like a *Charlatan* and Three Trumpeters *ſolus* in a *Bartlemew*-Fair Balcony, was an Act that wanted ſo much Conſideration, as ought to have preceded their being thus ſent to Farce it abroad in the World. Beſides, that when you expect a Gawdy Shew, there is nothing to be ſeen, but Relations of things long ſince *Lippis & Tonſoribus nota*, and already recited by others with much clearer Exactneſs, and a more pertinent Fidelity.

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Nevertheleſs, the Gentleman-Uſher to theſe precious Memoirs applauds his Author for a Perſon that ſerv'd his Country with that Indefatigable Care, Diligence, and Fidelity, as no man more; which he does upon a falſe Notion of *Ludlow*'s Services, and for want of well diſtinguiſhing between the nature of Publick Services. For it is one thing for a man to ſerve his Country, another thing to ſerve a particular Party. Now I do not find by the Preamble, that he ever did any Service for his Country, otherwiſe then by expending his Care and Diligence for the Service of the Republican Party; (which, by the way, the Writer of the Preamble calls his *going through innumerable Hazards for the Liberties of* England,) for he *never acted* under *Cromwell*'s ſingle Power, and he hated Royaliſts and Presbyterians both alike. But whether he ſerv'd his Country in ſerving the particular Party of the Republicans, is a Queſtion that lies wholly at the Writer of the Preamble's door to decide. I am apt to believe, if he will be ſo adventurous to aſſert it, he will meet with Champions enow that will undertake him. Certain it is, there were ſome, and thoſe no mean Perſons, nor few in number, among whom there were ſome Judges of the Land, who never believ'd

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the Writer of the Preamble, that ever *Ludlow* did any Service for his Country; and therefore tho' the Lieutenant-General so frequently complains that he could never be gratifi'd according to his Merits, *they would have recompenc'd him to the full of his Deserts in fighting for his Country, had the Lieutenant-General not fled from his reward.* And so we proceed to his Second Volume.

VOLUME II.

THE Second Volume begins very tartly and roundly indeed, and displaying a kind of *Billingsgate* Passion against *Cromwell* for dissolving that part of the Parlament, which the People afterwards in Derision call'd the *Rump*; and which the Lieutenant-General calls *a Villanous Attempt*, and a *Barbarous Usage of the Parlament*; which they who well consider will find to be the Language only of Prejudice and Self-Interest, and in the Lieutenant-General to be no way justifiable. 'Tis true, his Charge against *Cromwell* is very high, and very plausible; but whither the Accusations will fix a real Guilt upon the Party accus'd, is the Question. For this is an Axiom

P. 458, 461.

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in Logic, that nothing is to be admitted for Truth, but what is acknowledg'd to be certainly ſuch. That is to ſay, all Precipitancy and Prejudice in judging is to be avoided; and nothing is farther to be abſolutely concluded, then as it is ſo clearly and diſtinctly Evident to Reaſon, that it can no way be call'd in Queſtion. Now there is no Body will deny but that *Cromwell* turn'd out the Rump; yet there are Thouſands will deny that he did amiſs in doing it. But to ſhew how Partiality blinds the Reaſon of ſome People, I would fain know, where lay the Difference between purging the Houſe, and turning out the Members that were treating with the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, and diſſolving the Republican Rump: for *Oliver* was as much a Servant to the one as the other. Yet the Lieut. Gen. could approve the firſt Act, whatever Exclamations he makes againſt the Latter. Then *Oliver* was faithful and an Aſſertor, now a perfidious Invader of the Liberties of the People. Neither did *Cromwell* owe 'em that Obedience which the Lieutenant General pretends: He was a Member of the ſame Body, equal in Authority, ſuperior in Power, and fought for himſelf as well as for them; and if they aided him with Money, and their Counſels,

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he assisted them with his Counsels and his Sword. They sate under his Protection, and ow'd their Grandeur to his Victories; and he might be said to have giv'n 'em their Being in a Political Sense; and to support that Being of theirs, he ran all the Hazards Abroad, while they enjoy'd the Fruits of his Labours at Home. Their Power was only precarious, and while they rul'd by Laws only of his and their own making, he was not Circumscrib'd to any limits of Obedience, to Acts and Ordinances made only for present Conveniences; which in an unstable Government there may be as great a necessity to alter or repeal upon new Emergencies.

In this Confusion of Popular Anarchy, *Cromwell* resolv'd to be govern'd by the only standing Law in the Kingdom at that time; which was the Law of Self-Preservation: And the ejected Republicans may thank the E. of *Essex* when General, and the *Scotch* Commissioners for teaching him that Lesson. Mr. *Whitlock* in his Memoirs tells the Story thus.

Collonel *Cromwell* being made Lieutenant-General of *Manchester's* Army, gave such an Account of the Miscarriages of the Parlaments Forces before *Donnington* Castle, as made great Im-

Impreſſions of Jealouſy in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Breaſt, then Captain General for the Parliament: Inſomuch that he was adviſ'd to put his ſtrength to rid *Cromwell* out of the way; and the means to effect it was ſuppos'd to be by the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who were not well pleas'd with *Cromwell* for certain words which he had ſpoken, as they apprehended Derogatory to the Honour of their Nation. So early did *Cromwell* begin to be both Eminent and Formidable.

One Evening *Mainard* and *Whitlock* were Summon'd to *Eſſex* Houſe, whither they went to attend the Lord General, not knowing the occaſion of their being ſent for, and found already come before 'em, the *Scots* Commiſſioners, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Meyrick*, and ſome others. After the uſual Complements, the Lord General addreſſing himſelf to *Mainard* and *Whitlock*, told 'em, he had ſent for 'em upon a ſpecial occaſion, to have their Advice and Counſel in a matter of great Importance, wherein the Lords Commiſſioners of *Scotland* were concern'd as well for their own, as the ſtate of *England*; and referr'd himſelf to the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, as a much better Orator then himſelf, to acquaint 'em with the Buſineſs.

Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, after he had aſſur'd 'em of the good Opinion that himſelf and his Brethren had of their Worth and Abilities, You ken vary weel, ſaid He, that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* is no Friend of ours, and ſince the advance of our Army into *England*, he has us'd all under-hand and cunning means to take off from our Honour and Merit of this Kingdom. Therefore, it is thought requiſite for us, and for the carrying on of the Cauſe of the tway Realms, that this Obſtacle or Remora may be remov'd out of the way, whom otherwiſe we foreſee will be no ſmall impediment to us, and the gude deſign we have undertaken.

He not only is nō Friend to us and the Government of our Kirk, but he is alſo no well-willer to his Excellency, whom we have all cauſe to love and honour: ſo that if he be permitted to go on in his way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole Buſineſs; therefore we are to adviſe of ſome courſe to be taken for prevention of that Miſchief.

You ken vary weel the Accord betwixt the two Kingdoms, and the Union between the two Kingdoms by the ſolemn League and Covenant, and if any be an *Incendiary* between the two Nations how he is to be proceeded

ceeded againſt. Now the matter is, wherein we deſire your Opinions, what you take the meaning of this word Incendiary to be, and whither the Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* be not ſike an *Incendiary*, as is meant thereby; and whilke way wud be beſt to proceed againſt him if he be prov'd ſike an *Incendiary*, and that will clepe his wings from ſoaring to the Prejudice of our cauſe.

Now you may ken that by our Law in *Scotland* we clepe him an *Incendiary*, wha kindleth Coals of Contention, and raiſeth Differences in the State to the publick Damage, and he is, *tanquam Publicus Hoſtis Patriæ*. Whether your Law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt who are mickle Learned therein; and therefore with the Favour of his Excellency, we deſire your Judgments in theſe Points.

Whitlock repli'd, That the ſenſe of the word Incendiary was the ſame in *England* as his Lordſhip had expreſs'd it to be by the Law of *Scotland*, *One that raiſeth the fire of Contention in a State*, or that kindles the *burning hot flames of Contention*; but whether Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* were ſuch an Incendiary between the two Kingdoms, could not be known but by proof of his particular Words and Actions tending to the kindling of ſuch

a Fire of Contention between the Two Nations.

That it was not for the Lord General and the Lords Commiſſioners of *Scotland* to appear in any accuſation of this nature, unleſs they were certain it could be made out by ſufficient proofs.

That they were to conſider the Condition, Parts, and Intereſt of the Perſon who was to be accus'd as an *Incendiary*.

That Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was a Gentleman of quick and ſubtle Parts, and one who had gain'd no ſmall Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, and wanted not Friends in the Houſe of Peers, nor Abilities in himſelf to manage his own Defence to the beſt advantage.

And therefore ſince neither his Excellency, nor the Lord Chancellor had mention'd any particulars, nor that he knew of any by his own private Obſervations, that could amount to a clear proof that would ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons that Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was an Incendiary, his advice was, That they ſhould deſiſt from any further proſecution of this matter, till they were certain of evident Proofs to make out their Accuſation.

Maynard

Maynard gave the ſame Anſwer, only vary'd in words. However, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and ſome others, ſpoke ſmartly to the Buſineſs, and mentioning ſome particular Paſſages and Words of *Cromwell*, tending to prove him an *Incendiary*, would willingly have bin upon the Acculation. But the *Scots* Commiſſioners were not ſo forward to adventure upon it, for the reaſons alledg'd by *Maynard* and *Whitlock*. Nevertheleſs, this buſineſs was not carri'd ſo privately, but that *Cromwell* was inform'd of it: Which Mr. *Whitlock* gathers from hence, That though *Cromwell* took no notice of any particular Paſſages at this Conference, yet he ſeem'd more kind to *Whitlock* and *Maynard* then formerly he had bin, and carri'd on his Deſign more actively of making way for his own Advancement.

From hence it is apparent, that there was a Party in the Parlament that bore an early ſpleen againſt *Cromwell*, and fain would have nipt him in the Bud; but his eminent Service at *Naſeby* procuring him to be appointed and continu'd Lieutenant-General under *Fairfax*; the continual Succeſſes that attended him from that time forward, ſet him above their Machinations. Nevertheleſs, they did not eraſe out of his Breaſt the remembrance of the kind-

kindneſſes they would have done him; nor did their Flatteries of his Proſperity make him the more neglectful of ſtanding upon his Guard. And it was as warrantable for *Cromwell* to ſecure himſelf from the Contrivances of his Enemies in a ſhatter'd Parlament, of which he had ſo long before ſuch timely notice, as it was for them to ſeek his Ruin. For they were not his Sovereigns, but his Equals. This I urge to throw off that common aſperſion from *Cromwell*, That he ſought his own Advancement from the beginning, more then by enlarging his Fortune by acts of Proweſs, and joining with others to procure the general good of the Kingdom. For *Baxter* confeſſes, that at firſt he took extream care to get as many Religious Men into the Regiment that was to ſerve immediately under him, as poſſibly he could; who being People of more underſtanding then common Soldiers, were the more apprehenſive of the Importance and Conſequence of the War, and being conſcious that they Fought for the Publick Felicity, became the more Valiant; and he inſtances *Airs*, *Berry*, *Desborough*, and the reſt of that Troop, that they prov'd ſo Valiant, that as far as he could learn, they never turn'd their backs to an Enemy. He adds farther, That

Baxter's Life, Part 1. p. 98.

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at *Cromwell's* firſt making choice of ſuch Men, it was the very Eſteem and Love of Religious Men that principally mov'd him; and the avoiding thoſe Diſorders, Mutinies, Plunderings and Grievances of the Country, which Debauch'd Men in Armies are uſually guilty of. Now it is not eaſy to believe, that a Man of ſuch Principles ſhould be guilty of that inordinate Ambition which his Maligners lay to his Charge. But when he found that his Proſperous Atchievements rais'd him Enemies on every ſide; that they who were moſt beholding to his Victorious Succeſſes, combin'd with the greateſt Animoſity to his Deſtruction, 'twas time for him then to look about him, and to oppoſe their undermining Devices with countermines of the ſame nature. Nor does it appear by any proof that carries Authority with it, that he pretended to ſingle Greatneſs till he was forc'd to it for his own ſafety. It is agreed by the Author of the *Memoirs* himſelf, that *Cromwell* offer'd more candid and eaſy Conditions to the King then the *Presbyterian* Party did; which if the King had accepted (and it does not appear to be *Cromwell's* fault that he did not) *Cromwell* himſelf had then put a ſtop to all his ſingle Advancement; whereas he would ſurely have taken another

another course, had he at that time meditated single Sovereignty; but the King, who was design'd by Fate to be a Victim to Evil Counsel, refus'd those Offers, trusting to vainer hopes. On the other side, it was manifestly apparent that the *Presbyterian* Party aim'd at nothing more then their own Advancement by their Selling the Bishops Lands, and when they came to Treat with the King, by their so stifly adhering to their Proposition for the Abolishing of Episcopacy, knowing there could be no Bishops without Maintenance, and that then they must be the Paramount Clergy of the Kingdom. But then (indeed) *Cromwell* perceiving that it was not safe to rely upon the King, nor willing to truckle under a Party that were Treating for their own Advancement upon his Ruins, 'tis rational to believe, that from that time forward he began to look upon the King as a Conquer'd Prince, and that none could better supply his room then the Person who had Subdu'd him.

The Motives and Provocations that incited *Cromwell* to Dissolve the *Rump*, were somewhat different; for before the *Presbyterian* Party was Expell'd, though the Royal Party had deserted the House, there was a Number still left sufficient to take upon 'em the

the Name of a Parlament; and there was ſome face of that Authority which the Law of the Land had inveſted in the Repreſentatives of the People; beſides, that the King had acknowledg'd 'em to be a Parlament, upon the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. But they being Ejected, the ſmall Remainder was only a Junto, which deriv'd their Authority from the Power of the Sword; their Votes and Acts were no farther Laws then the Sword conſtrain'd Obedience to 'em; they were only continu'd in their Seats by *Cromwell* for a preſent Convenience; and therefore as they were only countenanc'd and ſupported by the Power of the Sword, which was then in the hands of *Cromwell*, they were to be lookt upon as no other then a Party ſet up by him, and owing their Authority to him. So that when they began to extend that Authority beyond its Limits, and aſſum'd to themſelves a Democratical Power in oppoſition to him from whom they deriv'd their ſubſiſtence, they were rather Rebels to *Cromwell*, then *Cromwell* to them; and as he ſet 'em up in hopes that they might be ſerviceable to him for the good of the Nation, might pull 'em down again, when he ſaw 'em exceeding their Commiſſion. Now whether the deſign, for the bringing of which to paſs,

Cromwell fix'd 'em in their Seats *pro tempore*, were good or bad, is not the Queſtion: But whether they who were no lawful Authority, but only acted under the ſafeguard of another unlawful Authority, had power to make any act good or evil, as it ſuited with their Intereſt, or oppos'd their Deſigns. For if they had not, which is moſt probable, *Cromwell* is ne're a jot the more Impious, the more Perjur'd, the more a Villain, becauſe they call him ſo. For being a Junto of his own erecting, upon ſuch and ſuch Conſiderations, he might without any fear of thoſe Reproaches, ſend 'em a grazing when he found 'em deviating from thoſe ends for which he had ſuffer'd 'em to keep their Places. Now it is plain, that *Cromwell* never intended they ſhould ſit long, or thought 'em able to accompliſh his main Deſign, which was to ſettle the Nation. For *Whitlock* in his Memorials gives yee an Account, how that after the Battel of *Worceſter*, *Cromwell* deſir'd a Meeting with ſeveral Members of Parlament, and ſome Chief Officers of the Army at the Speaker's Houſe, where in the preſence of a great many that met, he propos'd to 'em, That *ſince the Old King was Dead, and his Son Defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation*, and

and therefore he had desir'd that Meeting to Consider and Advise what was fit to be done.

Whitlock offer'd, Whether it were not requisite to be understood in the first place, in what way such a Settlement was desir'd; whether of an Absolute Republick, or of any Mixture of Monarchy.

Cromwell concurr'd with *Whitlock*, that his meaning was, that it should be consider'd, Whether a Republick or a mixt Monarchy would be best to be settl'd; and if any thing Monarchical, then in whom that Power to be plac'd.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington* was of Opinion, That a mixt Monarchical Government was the most suitable to the Laws and People of the Nation; and if Monarchical, that it would be most just to place it in one of the Sons of the late King.

Fleetwood thought that the Question whether a mixt Monarchy, or a Republick, would not be very easily determin'd. But,

St. *John*, the Chief Justice, was of the same Opinion with Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and so was the Speaker; but they did not mention where it was proper to be plac'd.

Widdrington again propos'd the Duke of *Gloceſter*; and *Whitlock* propounded that a Day

might be fix'd for the King's Eldeſt Son and the Duke of *York* to come into the Parlament, that ſo upon ſuch Terms as ſhould be thought fit and agreeable, both to the Civil and Spiritual Liberties, a Settlement might be made with them.

Cromwell repli'd, That it would be a buſineſs of more then ordinary difficulty; however, he really thought, that if it could be done with ſafety to the preſervation of the *Engliſh* Rights, a Settlement with ſomething of Monarchical Power in it, would be very effectual.

In ſhort, the Soldiers were againſt any thing of Monarchy, as *Desborough* and *Whalley*, who were preſent at the Meeting; but the Lawyers were for a mixt Monarchy.

Hence it is apparent, that the Diſſolution of the *Rump*, in order to the ſetting up a Government with a mixture of Monarchy in it, had a truer and more noble Aim, as being more conformable to the Laws of the Land, then the continuance of a Republic.

The Point is not here, Whether *Cromwell* did ill in ſetting up himſelf; but whether he did amiſs in ſetting up himſelf above the Republican *Rump*; and for that, he has of his ſide the Opinions of the Greateſt and moſt Learned

ed Lawyers of that Time: And *Whitlock* teſtifies, That St. *John*, the then Chief Juſtice, with many others, advis'd him to Diſſolve the *Rump*. So that *Ludlow*'s Outcries of *Villanous*, *Wicked*, and *Perfidious*, are Falſe and Scandalous, as being grounded upon Ignorance, Paſſion, and Partiality. He could not be tax'd with Wickedneſs or Villany, becauſe he purſu'd the Conſtitutions of the Nation, at leaſt much cloſer then they who had deſign'd the Subverſion of the National Government: Nor could he be charg'd with Perfidiouſneſs, becauſe he never promis'd to perpetuate their Seſſion, but had often deſir'd 'em to Diſſolve themſelves, which they foreſlowing by a thouſand cunning delays, he took the liberty to diſmiſs 'em by force.

But how highly ſoever *Ludlow* was offended with the Diſſolution of his Republican Brethren, many others were not of his Opinion. For *Whitlock* tells yee, that their Diſſolution caus'd much rejoycing among the Kings Party; and that among the Parlament's Party ſeveral Paſtors of Churches and their Congregations were pleas'd at it; and that ſeveral Acknowledgments of the Juſtice of that Action were ſent up to *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers, not only from ſeveral Parties of the Army,

Army, but from others in various Countries, with Engagements to ſtand by him; and *Baxter* tells yee, that no *ſort of People expreſs'd any great Offence at their being caſt out.* Though he cloſes his advantagious Teſtimonial of the general Approbation of the Action, with a laſh of his Satyrical Pen, upon the ſcore of his old Friends, the Exterminated Members. For Mr. *Baxter* does not appear in his deſcants upon *Cromwell* to be a Man without Gall. However, he ſerves as a good Witneſs againſt Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, to ſhew that *Oliver's* Diſſolution of the *Rump* was no ſuch Crime, as he proclaims it to be. And thus it is obſervable how ſtrangely Falſhood is impos'd upon the world in the various dreſſes and diſguiſes of Truth. If you will believe the Affirmations of Self-intereſt and Partiality, there as many Truths, as there are Waſtcoats of the Virgin *Mary* among the Papiſts; at leaſt there is no Champion of a Party but has his Wardrobe of Pretences, and Dreſſes of Juſtice, Piety, Virtue, and whatever is revear'd and eſteem'd among Men, to prank and trick up their Minion Falſhood, that it ſhall not be poſſible to diſtinguiſh her from Truth; nor are they at the ſame time without as many Magazines of deformed Vizors and

Diſguiſes

Diſguiſes to render Truth the moſt odious and monſtrous of all things, and ungrateful to Mankind. One cries up this for Truth; another aſſerts for Truth that which is diametrically oppoſite; a third ſteps in, and charges 'em both for Impoſtors. And the generality of Men, too lazy to examin which is Truth and which is Falſhood, refer themſelves to him, who having got ſomething of a Name in the World, either for his Learning or Piety, or it may be ſometimes for both, has the greateſt Authority over their Perſuaſion.

This is *Cromwell*'s Caſe; of whom it was ſaid, That no Man was *higher Extoll'd*, no Man more *baſely vilifi'd*; no Man *Worſe*, no Man *Better* ſpoken of; as *Intereſt led the Judgments* of Men. The *Presbyterians*, with *Baxter* at their Head, affirm it was an Act of *Rebellion*, *Perjury*, *Perfidiouſneſs*, and *Impudence*, to turn ſo many of their Members out of the Houſe at once: The *Republican* Party ſay, No; that was no Crime at all; but it was a *Villanous*, *Barbarous*, *Perfidious* Act to Diſſolve the *Rump*. Whence it is naturally concluded, that until Both Parties can make out their diametrical Infallibility in theſe Points, *Cromwell*'s Reputation ſtands Irreproachable, as to thoſe Acts with which they charge him committed againſt

againſt themſelves. Add to this, that being all Parties and Accomplices, they were no competent Judges of the Juſtice or Injuſtice of their own Cauſe; conſequently neither of *Cromwell*'s Proceedings againſt themſelves. So that having no Right to Judge, they had no Power to Condemn.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de Seditione querentes?

And now we come to the Accompliſhment of the Southſayings and Conjectures of our *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General, That after all was done, *Cromwell* would certainly fool the *Rump*, and ſet up for himſelf. And here with the Painter-Stainers Bruſh of his overweaning Malice, he ſtrives to render *Oliver* as deformed as poſſibly he can, to the end he may make his *Rump* appear the more ſleek and immaculate. To this intent, his main pretence is *violent Uſurpation*, but his chief Reaſons, which he diſplays too inconſiderately to the World, were his own Diſcontents, and the Abatement of his Pay, and his being at length turn'd quite out of Commiſſion: For, ſays he, P. 465. *the Pay of ſome of the Officers of the Army was alſo reduc'd; among whom it fell heavier on me, then any other; for I was oblig'd to keep a more plentiful Table*

Table then the reſt, and Twenty Horſes continually in my Stable ready for Service: And indeed it would have vex'd a Saint, to have bin thrown down like *Lucifer*, from ſo much Glory all of a ſuddain. Then for his Commiſſion, he himſelf acknowledges that it was not taken from him, till he was diſcover'd to be a Diſperſer of Petitions and *Memento's* againſt the Perſon who procur'd it for him, and in whoſe Name it was given. And here his pretended tender Conſcience being prick'd and goaded with a hundred ſcruples and niceties, 'tis very pleaſant to ſee how it caper'd and curvetted upon the demand of that Commiſſion. However it is apparent, that he was us'd with a world of Civility, more then he deſerv'd, and that great care was taken to recover him from thoſe Pious frenzies and fegaries, with which his Celeſtial Bigotry was led aſtray. P. 522, &c.

As for his Charge of Uſurpation and Tyranny upon *Oliver*; we muſt take him for a Perſon abſtracted from all other Parties but his own, and deal with him as one that boaſted that he had Subſcrib'd the Engagement to be true to the *Rump*, without King or Houſe of Lords, *with his Hand and his Heart*; and then we muſt affirm, that he has gon all along up-

on a wrong ground; seeing there could be no greater Proof of Usurpation, then that very Engagement which the Lieutenant General Sign'd with his Hand and his Heart. For it was a demand of Fealty by those who had no Legal Authority to require it, and a perfect Invasion upon the Prerogatives of the King and the Lords, and erecting a spurious Commonwealth upon their Ruins. So that the Confidence of the Lieutenant-General is greatly to be wonder'd at; who being an Accomplice in so signal a Usurpation, durst adventure to call *Cromwell* a Usurper, who did no more then what they had done before him with much more Injustice and Illegality. For the Lieutenant and his Copartners Usurp'd upon the Fundamental Constitutions of the Nation; whereas *Oliver* was only a Usurper upon Usurpers, if it might be call'd a Usurpation. However, to make it out, the Lieutenant-General conjectures this, and surmises that, according as his own idle Fancy prompted him; and would make the world believe that he knew *Cromwell's* Thoughts, and all the reasons of his Actions, which he takes so much care to bespatter with his fond Reflections and Interpretations, to the best advantage of his undefiled *Rump*. Whereas there be some who reck'n

reck'n that Action of *Cromwell*'s among the moſt Glorious of his Performances, and which came the neareſt to one of the moſt famous Atchievements of *Hercules* himſelf, to cut off that many-headed *Geryon* of Anarchy, Folly, and Tyranny, at one Blow.

But notwithſtanding all his ſtroaking and clapping his Republican *Rump*, there are others that write with more Impartiality, who give us a better account of things; and from thoſe bare Relations of Matters of Fact, we find that *Cromwell* always advis'd with the Greateſt Lawyers in the Nation, before he put his Determinations in Execution. In an accidental Conference between *Cromwell* and *Whitlock*, the latter agreed with the former, That *Ludlow*'s ſpotleſs *Rumponians* were a Proud, Ambitious, and Self-ſeeking ſort of People, ingroſſing all Places of Honour and Profit to themſelves and their Friends, and daily breaking out into new and violent Parties and Factions; that they were delayers of Buſineſs, and Men that deſign'd to perpetuate the Power in their own hands. So that it was then concluded between 'em, that there ought to be ſome Authority and Power ſo Full and ſo High, that might reſtrain their Exorbitances, and reduce things to better Order.

Certainly these were Inducements for *Cromwell* to Dissolve the *Rump*, much more Just and Honest, and far more Beneficial to the Nation, then those Figments which *Ludlow* charges him withal. Had they bin those By ends, and that Ambition which *Ludlow* would pretend to discover in him, it was well known, and *Whitlock* put him in mind at the same Conference, that he had all the Kingly Power in him already; that of the *Militia* as he was General: That as to the Nomination of Civil Offices, those whom he recommended were very seldom refus'd; and that though he had not a negative Vote in passing the Laws, yet what he dislik'd was not easy to be carri'd; and that it was in his Power to dispose of the Public Money: Then as to Foreign Affairs, though the Ceremonial Application were made to the Parlament, yet the expectation of good or bad Success was from himself; and particular Solicitations of Foreign Ministers, were only made to him.

But *Cromwell* well knowing that the Power of a King was universally understood and Reverenc'd by the People of this Nation, and that a single Person under what Title soever, was more agreeable to the Constitutions of the Kingdom, in all probability believ'd that

that it would be much better to deſtroy the *Republican Hydra*, paſt recovery, then to be guilty of ſo many foreſeen Miſcarriages, by ſuffering the unruly Monſter any longer to domineer under the Protection of his Power. For certain it is, that whatever the Nation had ſuffer'd, though it had paſs'd in their Names, would have bin all laid upon his Shoulders. And by the Event it may be juſtly thought, that theſe were the real Motives that ſway'd *Oliver* to aſſume a Single Title, rather then the Fictions of *Ludlow*'s Malice and Diſcontent. However, *Ludlow* pretends, that his *Rump* was dockt in the full career of their good Intentions for the Good of the Nation; to which ſome Credit might have bin given, had ſome indifferent Perſon ſpoke it: But as the Praiſes and Encomiums of a Bigot gain little Belief, ſo neither are his Defamations and Reproaches any more to be regarded among Men of Senſe. More then this, *Cicero* will not allow that any Man ſhould accuſe another for that which he is as much, or more guilty of himſelf. Now it is apparent that *Oliver*, as has been ſaid, ſo far as concern'd the *Rump*, was much leſs a Uſurper, then *Ludlow* and his Party, who had Uſurp'd all the Authority in the Kingdom to themſelves, and were going about.

about to Subvert the Fundamental Government of the Nation; whereas *Oliver* did but dissolve a Conventicle of a Parlament, out of a firm belief that they were meditating the Ruin of the Kingdom; which having no Legal Authority, might easily be Dissolv'd by the same Power that Supported it. So that there is not the least pretence for *Ludlow*'s Outcries of Usurpation against *Oliver*, who had as much right, if he saw cause, to Dissolve 'em, as they had to Sit; more especially seeing neither *Ludlow*, nor any of his Party could claim any redress from the Law of the Land, to which they were all sworn Enemies by virtue of their Engagement; nor was there any other Law to make it Usurpation, unless they meant some petty Votes of their own, which signifi'd nothing.

The Lieutenant-General's next Charge upon *Cromwell*, is an Accusation of Tyranny; not that the Lieutenant General ever felt the effects of it, unless it were his being turn'd out of Commission for endeavouring to raise the *Posse Comitatus* upon him, as we told yee before, by dispersing Petitions and *Memento*'s against *Oliver* and his Government, which he thought, in his silly Conscience, to be a Duty incumbent upon him: But because the

P. 524.

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Lieutenant-General having read or heard that Uſurpation and Tyranny were generally Concomitants, he thought it a Duty incumbent upon him to give *Oliver* a double ſcratch, and becauſe he had charg'd him with Uſurpation, that therefore it behov'd him to accuſe him of Tyranny, by reaſon they were ſo near a-kin. Such Blunders do Men commit that are ſway'd by Prejudice and Diſguſt. Now therefore we are to examine who were the greateſt Tyrants, the *Rump*, or *Cromwell*. The definition of Tyranny, according to *Ariſtotle*, is the Domination of one or more Men, with regard to nothing elſe but their own proper Intereſt and Advantage.

Now you have heard the Characters of the generality of the *Rump*; that they were *Proud*, *Ambitious*, and *Self-ſeekers*: Endowments ſo temper'd by Original Sin to qualify Men in Authority for Tyranny, that 'tis a difficult thing for thoſe that poſſeſs 'em to avoid the Temptations of Deſpotic Dominion. But to come to particulars; their Deſpotick Votes, from which there was no Appeal; the Sequeſtrations, Decimations, their Committee-Men *Baſhas*, and *Sangiacs* in every Corner of the Kingdom to Extirpate the Ancient Gentry and Nobility of the Nation; their deſigning

ſigning the very Annihilation of Kingſhip, by Expoſing the Palaces of Royalty to Sale; their Lording it over the Epiſcopal Clergy to that degree, that they would not ſuffer 'em to have Two or Three gather'd together in their Saviour's Name, as if the *Cavaleers* had had no right to Heaven; Taxes impos'd *ad Libitum*, by a Uſurp'd Authority, to maintain Wars with *Holland*, Wars with *Portugal*, that ſignifi'd nothing to *England*, but tended all to the advancement of their own Grandeur: And all this while the Nation rent and torn, Family againſt Family, Parents againſt their Children, Foreigners increas'd in the Staple Manufactures of the Kingdom, and Confuſion, that always nurſes Anarchy and Tyranny, as the Wolf did *Romulus* and *Remus*, raging uncontroul'd from *Dover* to *Berwick*.

While the Kingdom was in this diſaſterous Condition, *Cromwell* ſteps in and puts a ſtop to theſe precipitant *Phaetons*, that had quite overturn'd the Chariot of Government, and finding no other way but to reſtore the ancient Eſtabliſhment of a Single Perſon and a Parlament, takes the Reins into his own Hands. And this is that which our Lieutenant General of the Forces in *Ireland* ſnorts and fumes at with ſo much Indignation, and calls, though very impro-

improperly, his own Circumſtances conſi-
der'd, a betraying of the precious Cauſe, and
a *Sacrificing of all their Victories and Deliverances to*
his Pride and Ambition, contrary to his former ſo- P. 471.
lemn Vows and Profeſſions. A Charge of a high
nature, but which has bin ſufficiently anſwer'd
already. However, *Cromwell* would not be
overhaſty in this Affair of ſo great Importance;
he firſt calls an Aſſembly of Men, the Beſt
and moſt Able, as he thought, to find out an
Expedient to reſcue the Nation from the
growing Confuſions that were like to over-
whelm it. But theſe Perſons, after they had
for ſome time laid their Heads together,
prov'd as arrant Bunglers, as the others were
Fools and Knaves; however, they had the
honeſty to acknowledge it, and ſo unwilling
to go beyond their Laſt, reſign'd up their
Power into his Hands who had call'd 'em to-
gether. Now whether this were done out of
Policy for form and faſhions ſake, or out of ſin-
cere Intention, is not here to be diſputed;
we are only to clear it from *Ludlow*'s Aſperſi-
on of Tyranny, as being a Method that lookt
with a much better face of moderation and
reaſon, and carri'd a fairer pretence of ſatisfa-
ction to the Nation, then the Lawleſs Violence
of the *Rump* in taking Poſſeſſion of their ſeve-

ral Thrones, and Voting themſelves into an Arbitrary and Deſpotic Domination, without the leaſt Conſent of the People, but impoſing themſelves upon 'em for their Repreſentatives, without any regard to the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Land.

On the other hand, *Cromwell* and the Gentlemen before mention'd, had reſign'd their Authority up to him, before he would intrude himſelf upon the Nation, draws up a certain Inſtrument, containing ſeveral Covenants and Compacts between him and the People, which he took an Oath in the Preſence of God, never to Violate or Infringe, but to Govern the Three Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof, ſeeking Peace, and cauſing Juſtice to be equally Adminiſtred.

This the *Rump* never did, they broke the Laws and Statutes of the Realm every day in the year; and requir'd that all People ſhould Swear to them, but they Swore to no Body: They gave no reaſon of their Actions, but call'd themſelves, *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and as ſuch, they lockt it up with their Great Seal, and would never part with it to the People: They were only ingenuous in one thing, that they acknowledged what God they ſerv'd by their

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Deus Nobiſcum upon their Coin. And this ſame *Mammoniſh* Deity ſeems to have had a great influence upon the Conſcience and Piety of our Lieutenant-General, by his Complaint for the Abatement of his Pay, and the Viol of his Wrath pour'd out upon *Cromwell*, for diſtributing a Thouſand Pounds a Year to the Members of his Council, when he himſelf was turn'd out of the Council of State, and his Lieutenant-Generalſhip in *Ireland*, and ſent a Grazing into *Wiltſhire*, after all his great Services at *Wardour-Caſtle*, and againſt the Bogtrotters, and his obſtructing the Proclaiming the Inſtrument of Government in *Ireland*, in Obedience to the ſqueamiſhneſs of his crazy Conſcience. Which put him into ſuch a heat every time he thought of it in *Switzerland*, that he was reſolv'd to be even with *Cromwell* for it; and therefore lays it as a heavy Charge upon him, his allowing a 1000 *l.* a Year to his Privy Council, to tell the World, That he did it *as a Publick Robber who had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Purſe of the Nation, becauſe nothing of Conſcience or Honour* could be preſum'd would ever keep 'em ſteady in their Fidelity to him. Never conſidering that his Spotleſs *Rumponians* were of the ſame Opinion, which made 'em carve the Wealth of the Nation ſo profuſely

P. 479.

Ibid.

one to another, to cement their mutual Union, that *Martin* was reported to have ſpent a Hunder'd Thouſand Pounds of their Liberality upon his Concubines, of which the Donative of *Darby* Houſe was a part. And they who deſire to ſee a farther Liſt of the Munificent Gratuities of their Fidelity to each other, may find it in the *Hiſtory of Independency*, unleſs my Memory fail me.

But to return to *Cromwell*, it is apparent that ſtill he gave reaſons for what he did. He tells the world, That having had ſufficient Experience of the Inconveniences of a Republican Dominion, which was altogether diſſonant from the Temper of the Nation, he had reduc'd it to the Ancient Form of a Single *Perſon* and a *Parlament*, as being moſt agreeable to the Senſe of the Nation, judging it to be the moſt likely means to avoid the extreams of Monarchy on the one hand, and Democracy on the other, yet not ſo neither as to found *Dominium in Gratia*. And to ſhew how far he was from intending a Tyrannical and Deſpotic Rule, he drew up an Inſtrument containing ſeveral Covenants and Agreements with the People, with the Form of an Oath to be taken by him for the Performance of the ſeveral Articles.

The

The chief of these Covenants were, That the Laws should not be alter'd, suspended, repeal'd, or abrogated, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax or Imposition laid upon the People, but by common Consent of Parlament.

That there should be a Triennial Parlament, not to be dissolv'd before they had sate Five Months; which should be summon'd sooner, if the Necessities of the State required it.

That the Office of the Single Person should be Elective, and not Hereditary.

That Liberty of Conscience should be allow'd to all Professors of the Christian Faith: But the Publick and open Profession of Popery and Prelacy not to be allow'd.

That every successive Single Person should take and subscribe a solemn Oath to seek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of the Nations, and to cause Law and Justice to be equally administred.

Now, with our Major-General's leave, I would fain know what Tyranny there was in all this? More then this, as to the Sincerity of *Cromwell's* Intentions, if we may believe him, as there is certainly much more reason to believe him speaking as it were in the Presence of God, then to give Credit to an exasperated

exaſperated Bigot jabbering to the Canton of *Bern*, he aſſures the Parlament which he had call'd, That he deſir'd not to keep the Government any longer then he might preſerve *England* in its juſt Rights, and the People in their juſt Liberty of Conſcience. To this we may add, that at another time in his Speech to his Parlament, ſpeaking of his Government, he has this Expreſſion, That let men ſay what they would, he could ſpeak it with Comfort before a greater then any of 'em, as to his own Intentions, it was a Thing calculated for the Intereſt of the People alone, and for their Good, and without Reſpect had to any other Intereſt.

I do not find in all *Ludlow*'s Memoirs any ſuch League made for the Welfare of the Nation by the Rump, or any ſuch Tenderneſs ſo much as pretended by *Ludlow*'s Republican Patriots. *Ludlow* takes no notice of all this, but runs on, hunting after all the Riffraff of Defamation and Reproach which he can rake together, on purpoſe to pull down his Memory, and bury it under the Rubbiſh of his Memoirs. He ſcrapes together with an implacable Malice, all the Bad, or will admit of bad Interpretation concerning him; but he omits every thing that might be juſtly ſaid in his

his Favour: Which, if we may believe *Cicero*, is the greateſt Proof of the Injuſtice of an Accuſation that can be.

Baxter, though no Friend to *Cromwell*, was in this particular more Ingenious; he mixes what he thought bad, and what he eſteem'd good in *Cromwell*, both together; and his Words are worth reciting, as bearing a ſignal Teſtimony againſt the Virulency of *Ludlow*. *I did in open Conference*, ſays he, *declare* Cromwell *and his Adherents to be guilty of Treaſon and Rebellion, yet I did not think it my duty to rave againſt him in the Pulpit; the rather, becauſe as he kept up his Approbation of a Godly Life in the general, and of all that was good, except that which the Intereſt of his ſinful Cauſe engag'd him to be againſt; ſo I perceiv'd that it was his deſign to do good in the main, and to promote the Goſpel, and the Intereſt of Godlineſs, more than any had done before him; and it was the principal means that he truſted to for his own Eſtabliſhment, ev'n by doing GOOD; that the People might love him, or at leaſt be willing to have his Government, for that Good.* And ſpeaking of his Carriage after he had aſſum'd the Protectorſhip, *He had the Policy*, ſays he, *not to detect or exaſperate the Miniſters or others that conſented not to his Government, having ſeen what a Stir the Engagement made before; but he let men live quietly,*

Baxter's Life, Part 1. p. 71.

P. 74.

quietly, without putting any Oath of Fidelity upon any but his Parlaments.

From whence it is obvious, that it was a piece of Tyranny in the Rump, that they would let no body reſt in quiet, that did not ſwallow their Engagement; which was a Tyranny not only over the Bodies, but the very Souls and Conſciences of men; of which *Ludlow* in the height of his Partiality ſays nothing.

By the way, there is one Accuſation which *Baxter* and *Ludlow* both charge upon *Cromwell*, That he permitted many things, to *neceſſitate the Nation* to take him for their Governor: Which *Cromwell* taking notice of, gives this ſolemn Anſwer, in his Second Speech to his Parlament; *And I ſay this*, ſays he, *not only to this Aſſembly, but to all the World, That that man lives not, who can come to me and charge me that I have in theſe great Revolutions created Neceſſities: I challenge ev'n all that fear God.* After all this, I muſt leave it to Judgment, whether it be fair to favour the Suppoſitions and Conjectures of Bigotry, againſt ſo ſolemn a Chalenge as this.

And now we are to compare the Benefit which the Nation receiv'd by the Rump, with the Advantages of the Protector's Government. As for the Actions of the Rump, the chiefeſt of Remark was their War with the *Dutch.*

Dutch. A War by which the Nation reap'd no Benefit, and which the *Dutch* declin'd as much as possibly they could, disowning the rash Action of *Trump*, and taking God to witness, that his fighting the *English* Fleet was against the Knowledge and Will of the *States-General.* But the Rump, who then thought themselves the Lords of Three Kingdoms, and were setting up for a Commonwealth, and flush'd up with *Cromwell's* Victories at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, resolv'd to let the *Dutch* know, that as they were the largest, so they would be the Topping Republic in *Europe*, and would not have the Point of Precedency disputed with 'em. Which was the Reason that most people, because they could find no better, gave for their entring into a War impertinently expensive to the Nation, and altogether against the Protestant Interest, which ought to have been much more dear to those pretended Zealots, then a Punctilio of Honour. As for their War with *Portugal*, it had somewhat a better pretence, because that King protected Prince *Rupert's* revolted Ships in his Harbours; but it caus'd a great Cessation of Trade.

On the other side; *Cromwell* made Peace with the *Dutch*, and made 'em pay for it. He renew'd the Leagues with *Sweden* and *Den-*

mark, by which he kept the *Sound* open to his Merchants, and ſtrengthen'd the Proteſtant Intereſt. He reliev'd the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *Savoy* with conſiderable Sums. And if he err'd in cloſing with the *French* inſtead of the *Spaniard*, yet thereby he added *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk* to the *Britiſh* Dominions; the Loſs of the laſt of which Places has been too ſadly lamented in theſe our laſt Wars with *France*. At home he took care to fill the Seats of Juſtice with Men of known Integrity and Ability; and he went a great way in reforming the Abuſes of the Law. Laſtly, he kept the Nation in Peace, Trade flouriſh'd, and Money was plentiful under his Government.

But he was no ſooner laid in his Grave, but the Rump, which was enough to ſhew the Nature of the Beaſt, broke in upon his Son *Richard*, and put all into Confuſion again; and by that means made good the Truth of all the Remonſtrances and Declarations that the Army and *Cromwell* put forth in Juſtification of their Proceedings againſt him. This *Baxter* ſays, *as done by them, was as barbarous a Perfidiouſneſs as ever Hiſtory did declare; that they ſhould ſo ſuddenly, ſo ſcornfully, and proudly pull down him whom they had ſo lately ſet up and ſworn to, and that for nothing; they could ſcarce tell why themſelves;*

nor

nor were ever able to give the world a fairer reaſon for their Villany, then the Munſter Fanaticks *had for their* Bedlam *Outrages and Rebellion; as if Perjury and Rebellion had bin newly put into the Commandments.*

And here it is time to make a ſtop, that I may not trouble the Reader with Repetitions and Impertinences, which would certainly be the conſequence of any farther tracing the remainder of his Memoirs, wherein he ſeems to be only in a pleaſing Trance, gratifying his own Humour, and talking of old Stories, like old weather-beaten Officers in the Chimney-corner of a Lame Hoſpital.

From the whole there is only this one Obſervation farther to be made, How great a Prejudice Poſterity receives from ſuch Mountebanks in Hiſtory as the Author of theſe Memoirs. For the Supream Law of Hiſtory is, That there be no ſuſpicion of Favour or Affection; none of Envy or Partiality, nor any thing of Oſtentation in the Writer; of all which Crimes theſe Memoirs are apparently guilty. And therefore ſuch Commentaries as theſe, are better committed to the Flames, then tranſmitted to future Ages, which are thereby led into Error, and altogether depriv'd of

of making a right Judgment of preceding times. Truth is darken'd either *Libidine Assentandi*, or *odio Adversus Dominantes*; and so between Folly and Knavery there is no care of Posterity. And therefore in regard that Men for Scandals and Defamations of the Living, are many times punish'd with severe Penalties, How much more do all passionate and misguiding Histories, that murder the Fame and Reputation of the Dead, deserve the Condemnation of all the Rational part of Mankind?

THE END.